

AZANIA COMBAT

August - September

- SERVICE SACRIFICE & SUFFERING -

1976

Soweto hero laid to rest

Johannesburg, Sunday
HUNDREDS of mourners gave Black power salutes and shouted "amandla" (power) as the body of 13-year-old Hector Peterson, believed to be the first to die in last month's brutal massacres, was buried in Soweto township yesterday.

Plans for a mass burial were barred by the South African fascist regime.

However, African leaders, particularly the Soweto parents' Association, urged people to congregate for the "symbolic" funeral of Hector, a schoolboy who was in the front ranks when students marched in Soweto on June 16 in protest against being taught in the Afrikaans language.

He was shot dead when the fascist police broke up the march. The action led to mass protests in which more than 1,000 people all but two of them blacks, were killed and about thousands others injured.

Apart from the Peterson funeral, 46 other victims of the massacre were buried yesterday.

At Saint Paul's Anglican Church, Mr. Manas Buthelezi, chairman of the African Parents' Association, told mourners at the funeral of Hector Peterson:

"We all know why we are here. The circumstances of Hector's death are well known to all of us, and there is no doubt that Hector's untimely death will contribute to the betterment of his fellow-citizens".

● Continued racial conflict in South Africa could spark off a Third World War, possibly involving the use of nuclear weapons,

a leading British anti-apartheid campaigner said in London today.

Cannon John Collins, preaching at St. Paul's Cathedral, said.

"The next (Soweto-type) shock could be the sparking-off of racial conflict which, with a South Africa probably very soon possessed of nuclear power, could soon embroil the world in a third world war -- a war in which nuclear weapons might well be used".

Daily News
Tanzania July 5 '76

(Dar es Salaam)



The Great Leader of the Azanian people and President of the Pan Africanist Congress

Mangaliso R Sobukwe

We are, today, going down the corridor of time and renewing our acquaintance with the heroes of Africa's past -- those men and women who nourished the tree of African freedom and independence with their blood; those great Sons and Daughters of Afrika who died in order that we may be free in the land of our birth. We are met here, today, to rededicate our lives to the cause of Afrika, to establish contact, beyond the grave, with the great African heroes and to assure them that their struggle was not in vain. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of our beloved land, to drink from the fountain of African achievement, to remember the men and women who begot us, to remind ourselves of where we come from and to restate our goals. We are here to draw inspiration from the heroes of Thaba Bosiu, Isandlwana, Sandile's Kop, Keiskama Hoek and numerous other battlefield where our forefathers fell before the bullets of the foreign invader. We are here to draw inspiration from the Sons and Daughters of Afrika who gave their all to the cause and were physically broken in the struggle.

Afrika Heroes Day in 1959

BLACK EXPLOSION

By accepting the dangers and sacrifices inherent in violent action, these Africans have understood how pointless would be any peaceful action initiated by the international community in order to induce the racist regime in Pretoria to relinquish the system of apartheid. The responsibility which they have thus assumed is enormous, because they know better than anyone the strength of the forces that they will have to fight. Their own merits will only be thereby greater, because in defending its dignity a people cannot allow itself to be deflected in its purpose by the numerical superiority of the forces which oppress it.

- H.E. Abdellatif RAHAL, Ambassador of Algeria to the UN, speaking on behalf of Non-Aligned countries in the Security Council debate on the Soweto massacres

Epoch making events are unfolding in Azania and they need to be understood in proper perspective because consequences flowing from these events are destined to shape the future of Southern Africa.

It is quite clear that at present the national liberation struggle in Azania cannot easily enjoy the rear-base support provided by neighbouring independent African states to the freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola at the beginning of their heroic wars of independence against Portuguese colonialism. The apartheid regime, in action and in words, has demonstrated that it would counter-attack guerilla infiltration from abroad by extending the war beyond South Africa's borders.

Furthermore, legislation licensing the South African fascist army to commit aggression against any African country judged to be "posing a threat to South Africa's security" has been enacted by the white settler parliament. Fourteen violations of Zambian territory (including a major aggression condemned by the Security Council on July 30) in 1976 alone and the wellknown aggression against Angola are samples of apartheid South Africa's warmongering. South Africa has sufficient weapons of every class supplied by France and other NATO powers to enable its aggressor troops to expand their military adventures up to the Equator, the target area provided for in the un-edited version of the Defence Amendment Act.

If, at this stage, the Azanian national liberation movement were to follow the initial patterns which succeeded elsewhere (i.e. rely on launching guerilla war from abroad) very severe and intolerable losses in African lives would be suffered not only in Azania but in neighbouring countries as well. Consequently orderly development after hard won independence would grossly setback, and that would be a triumph for imperialism.

All of the obstacles mentioned above are wellknown to the broad movement and hence to the masses in Azania. The enemy is also very much aware of what it conceives as the deterrent effect of its military bullying, which is why the chieftain of apartheid - John Vorster - keeps trying to secure an indefinite tenure for white supremacy in Southern Africa through his bankrupt "dialogue" and "detente". It is revealing to see the US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, join in this transparent mockery.

Vorster, either through his deception abroad or through his fraudulent Bantustans scheme at home, is propelled by a single desire: to undermine the Azanian national liberation movement and thus deny the African masses freedom and independence in Azania.

The Azanian masses have refused Vorster a free hand in shaping the destiny of Southern Africa and at Soweto they launched a violent struggle which will not let up until victory is won. All solutions which preclude the seizure of power by the African masses are void and doomed to failure.

BLACK EXPLOSION (Continuing)

Inspired by the victorious liberation struggles of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau the Azanian people have seized the initiative in a revolutionary way and created favourable conditions for the launching of a continuous people's war. This initiative has been born out of the covert work of the national liberation movement and the overt conscientisation efforts carried out by mass movements.

Therefore, the Black Explosion which rocked South Africa on June 16 may have been spontaneous but its gunpowder is not the work of magic. Countless sacrifices have been made in preparation for the fierce struggles which have physically paralysed apartheid authority in Soweto and spread like wild-fire to Alexandra Township, Atteridgeville, Sebokeng, Mamelodi, Kagiso, Thembisa, GaRankuwa, Natalspruit, Thokoza, Daveyton, Kwa Thema, Khotsong, Mlazi, Witbank, Middleburg and Krugersdorp, and forced the closure of the country's three Black universities (tribal colleges) and a seminary in Qwaqwa. This means the uprising has touched every major city in the Transvaal and important areas in the remaining three provinces of South Africa.

Evidence of the sacrifices made is legion and manifest in Robben Island, in the executioner's records in Pretoria Central Prison, in the pending trial of at least 15 Africans arrested on May 18 on the suspicion of doing PAC underground work (some of these men have already served time on Robben Island) and in the current marathon trials against leaders of SASO, the BPC and BAWU in the Pretoria Supreme Court, to mention but a few recent examples.

The blows delivered by Black militants at Soweto and the other areas have as much revitalised the struggle in Azania as they have put Vorster and his imperialist masters on the defensive. Simultaneously myths about the Azanian people's determination to fight for their freedom have been shattered and the false tranquility in apartheid South Africa has been exploded. Vorster and the Western imperialists are not reconciled to defeats they are suffering. For his part Vorster has locked up no less than 3,000 African patriots - including children less than 10 years old. The imperialists, through some of the western media, slander the uprisings by describing them as "riots" and maliciously label African militants "hooligans" and "thugs".

These distortions have however failed to conceal the wellknown facts that attacks have been directed at police, apartheid officials and informers, and that fires have been set on pass offices, "Bantu" administration board offices, exploiters' buildings and government vehicles, all of which are symbols of apartheid tyranny.

Just as world opinion was not fooled eternally by derogative names and epithets for freedom fighters in Algeria, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Mozambique, Palestine and Indochina, so will the slanders against Azanian freedom fighters be laid bare.

What has been unfolding in Azania since June 16 cannot be rolled back. The Black Explosion has signalled the beginning of the end for apartheid fascism and imperialist exploitation. The struggle is now poised to enter the decisive phase of a people's war which will be protracted but will emerge victorious. Desperate attempts are already underway to deflect the revolutionary march from its course but these will prove futile. As already stated: No solution short of the seizure of political power by the Azanian masses and their liberation movement is viable.

- Editor

Launch uhuru War in S A

Daily News (Dar es Salaam)
June 28 '76

THE Organisation of African Unity (OAU) today debated a resolution by Ghana calling for the unleashing of an armed struggle in South Africa in the wake of the massacres of Blacks.

The resolution was introduced by Ghanaian Foreign Minister, Colonel Roger Felli, and gave the trend of the views of the Foreign Ministers attending the OAU conference here, OAU spokesman Peter Onu told a Press conference.

Mr. Onu said here today virtually the whole day had been devoted to last week's killings in Soweto and other townships in South Africa.

The ministers completed their debate on the massacres today and sent the resolution to a drafting committee.

The operative part of the resolution hailed the "heroic people of Soweto in particular and South Africa in general for their courageous stand against overwhelming

odds."

It declared June 16 as the Day of the Soweto Massacres and "condemns the Vorster regime for the recent massacres perpetrated against unarmed African men, women and children who have refused to accept Afrikaans, the language of apartheid."

It also condemned the use of western armaments, in particular French helicopters, in the perpetration of the massacres.

Port Louis, Sunday

The resolution affirmed that "the only effective guarantee for the African people of South Africa against the repetition of the massacres is through the unleashing of the armed struggle."

- It resolved to extend maximum political, economic and military assistance to the two liberation movements — the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress — to enable them to "execute the armed struggle."

It was no longer a question of abolishing apartheid, the resolution said, but of "liberating South Africa."

The liberation hour arrives

By TARGET Reporter

SEVEN little black bodies writhing in pools of blood in the dusty streets of Soweto, South Africa, last week announced the beginning of a decisive, and perhaps final, phase in the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

By the end of the week, more than 140 people — black and white, adults and children, men and women — had lost their lives, as a peaceful demonstration of school children turned into a full-scale riot protesting against apartheid and its institutions.

The Soweto massacre peeled off in one blow several layers of false myths behind which the racist regime has been hiding.

It shattered South Africa's propaganda line — that the blacks in South Africa are happy with their lot, that they are not ready for revolution, that any talk of fighting for liberation at all costs is essentially a foreign idea, supported by black "communists," and that only a few disgruntled elements are operating in the country.

The Soweto incident showed the world — and, hopefully, South Africa — that the liberation struggle is the struggle of the people of South Africa, that these people are not willing to

wait any longer for their liberation.

The system of oppression, discrimination and exploitation must be crushed and replaced by a more just system.

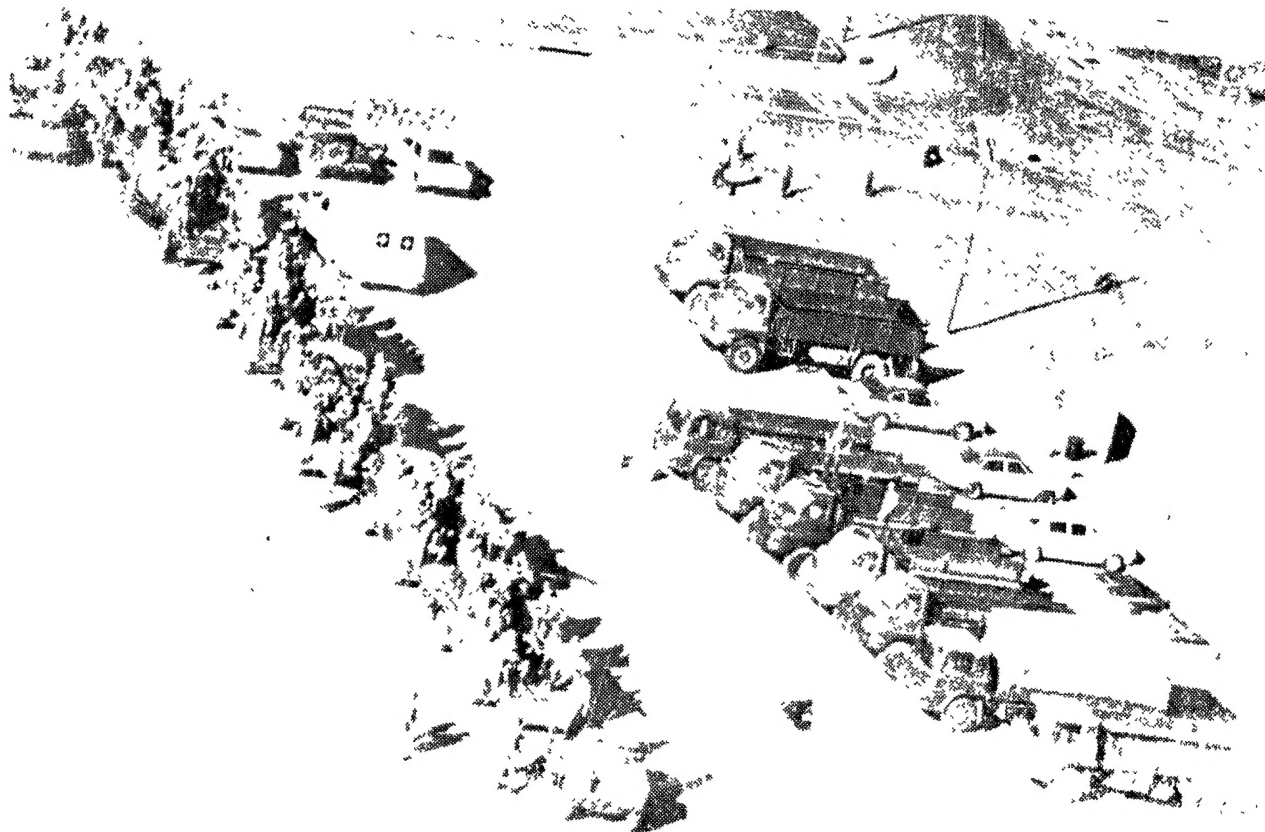
South Africa will, doubtless, continue to look for enemies beyond its borders, if only to draw attention away from its own internal problems. So long as such a situation continues,

South Africa will remain a dangerous military threat to free Africa.

Those who arm South Africa are preparing it, not for a war against the Soviet Union, but for an ugly racial war against Africa. Those who invest in South Africa are helping to strengthen the last major fortress of organized violence against the dignity and 'freedom of the black race.

Target (Nairobi) July 5 '76

Troops called out



Soldiers on standby at the Doornkop military base near Soweto yesterday afternoon. The troops were ready to leave for flashpoints at a moment's notice should their help be needed.

STAFF REPORTERS

TROOPS were on standby outside Soweto last night while thousands of angry Africans set fire to buildings and cars after a day of violence and death.

The giant Black city—housing more than one-million people—was last night in chaos as roving bands of vandals burnt Government buildings, looted bottle stores and threatened to lay siege to police stations.

Earlier special anti-riot and anti-terrorist squads were called in to contain the situation after the death of at least five people.

The rioting was triggered off by a clash between police and pupils who were demonstrating against enforced instruction of some subjects in Afrikaans.

During the clash an African schoolboy, Hector

Peterson, was shot dead.

Soon afterwards two officials of the West Rand Administration Board were pulled from their cars by children and youths, and hacked stoned to death.

One of the officials was Dr Melville Edelstein, 56, author of the book "What Do Young Africans Think?" — a study of the attitudes of Soweto High School pupils.

The other was Mr Nols Esterhuizen, a middle-aged inspector who had been an active worker at the Soweto Aid Centre.

Last night, reports of fires in Dobsonville, Jabulani, Dube, Meadowlands and White City were being received by police at their "battle" headquarters at Orlando Police Station.

Among the buildings set alight was the showpiece Urban Bantu Council chamber at Jabulani.

But the Johannesburg Fire Department said it would send its men into Soweto only if escorted by troops and police.

Rand Daily Mail (Jo'burg)
June 18 '76



Axeman leaps 4 storeys



One of the victims of yesterday's axe attack, Dr O B Barta.

The axe-wielding man who hacked four people in Johannesburg yesterday and, who shortly after his arrest leaped four storeys from Police headquarters at John Vorster Square, is still in a critical condition.

Crowds scattered at 3.15 pm when a young Black man wielding an axe ran through the Library Gardens between Simmonds and Harrison streets, yelling 'Black Africa' and warning Black bystanders to clear the area because he was going to 'take revenge on the children of Soweto'.

STAR (Johannesburg)

June 19 '76

RAND DAILY MAIL, Friday, June 18, 1976

Dossier of violence

The sequence of events in Soweto yesterday:

- 8.00 Two army helicopters arrive and begin reconnaissance flights
- 8.15 Police on standby at the Orlando Police Station are put on alert as reports come in that schoolchildren are threatening to burn down schools in Diepkloof Zone 2, at Jabulani, and the Orlando High School
- 8.30 Numbers of police armed with FN rifles and sub-machine guns are dispersed in groups in different directions. West Rand Administration Board official stoned in his car at Power Park.

8.45 An alert put out for the protection of the Wrab offices at Zola. More police reinforcements sent in 'hippo vehicles'.

8.50 Reports that the Wrab offices at Klipspruit are being attacked and there are White officials inside. Also that the offices in Orlando East and Mapetla are threatened as is a filling station on the Old Potchefstroom Road and a medical clinic in Orlando. Major-General W. H. Kotze, divisional commissioner of police for the Witwatersrand was taken by helicopter on a reconnaissance flight

9.00 While dozens of police on standby at the Orlando Police Station eat their breakfast the body of an African man in bloodied sheeting is dumped in the sun near the charge office.

9.15 An SABC-TV crew in their car on the old Potchefstroom road are attacked, dragged from their car which is set on fire with all their equipment in it. They are reported badly beaten. African police report 'the Orlando East offices are in trouble'.

9.22 Gunfire heard at a distance to the west of the Orlando Police Station, but no reports on it.

9.30 Reports of a large group of youths moving in the direction of Baragwanath Hospital. Police check on the protection of the Orlando Power Station.

9.45 A group of five youths under arrest drag a sixth person unconscious into the Orlando Police Station. One youth deformed and retarded, bleeding from head and hand injuries.

10-11 Consistent reports of large mobs of youths attacking cars on the old Potchefstroom road.

10.45 Report of an African detective found

killed near his van

11.00 A 5-year-old girl Thandi Plaatjie shot dead, as is a 14-year-old boy, police opened fire at the Rockville Bottle Store.

11-12 Wrab offices at Diepkloof set alight.

11.30 African youths enter the Coloured township of Noordgesig on the Soweto border, chase away technical staff repairing fences and a refuse truck alight.

11.50 Three boys, playing in the grounds of the Masekhene Higher Primary School, hit by police gunfire in Meadowlands.

12.05 Soweto switchboard closes down. No official reason announced but the staff believed to have left their posts in fear of attack.

12.30 A young boy shot and injured and another hit with an axe in police station near the White Church, Orlando East.

1.20 Johannesburg's 'disaster bus' moved to Baragwanath Hospital area from Central Fire Station.

2.00 Report of Putco bus set alight on Potchefstroom road. Road closed to all conventional traffic.

2-3 Two more bodies brought in to Orlando Police Station, bringing the total to six.

3.00 More shots heard from Diepkloof. Helicopter circles the area dropping tear-gas canisters. Five 'hippos' move out, each carrying 12 policemen.

3.25 General Kotze takes off for survey.

3.30 Shots heard from direction of Diepkloof Bar.

4.40 Reports of more 'hippos' being called in.

5.00 Reinforcements from police training centre, Groblersdal arrive in two 'hippos', seven Bedford trucks and an assortment of Land-Rovers and small trucks.

5.15 Two 'hippos' move out to a bank in Dube. Reports come in of three more people shot, six arrested. Four more dead brought in and an African half-carried from a truck into an office.

Johannesburg Alerts Police

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 16—The Government sent large contingents of police into the streets of Soweto and neighboring townships around Johannesburg today in a show of force to discourage a renewal of the black upheaval here last month.

Backing his pledge to use all necessary force to prevent new violence, the Minister of Justice, James T. Kruger, put police units on the alert in more than 20 townships affected by the anti-Government rioting three weeks ago.

All whites were banned from Soweto, the sprawling dormitory town where more than a million blacks live. Police officers stopped whites with entry permits at roadblocks on the perimeter of the township, explaining that they could not guarantee their safety.

Meanwhile the security police stepped up a series of arrests that began after the original outbreak of June 16. At least nine blacks were taken into custody today, including Jairus Kgokong, a Soweto resident who is a prominent member of the militant South African Students Organization.

Others arrested were members of the South African Students' Movement and the Black People's Convention, groups that have voiced bitter criticism of apartheid. Apparently all are to be held in preventive detention.

The arrests followed the assertion by Mr. Kruger last night that agitators in the townships were conspiring to provoke new rioting Tuesday when black schools, closed as the June violence spread, were to reopen.

The Justice Minister announced that he had postponed the reopening indefinitely. Today he modified the ruling, saying that schools outside the Johannesburg and Pretoria area could open.

He said the others would remain closed until the blacks showed they were willing to use schools for the right purpose—an allusion to the student protests that preceded last month's violence. The upheaval began when a march in which 10,000 youngsters took part in Soweto encountered police barricades and rock-throwing and gunfire began.

2d Shooting Victim Dies

The issue at the heart of the student protest, the compulsory use of Afrikaans in black schools, has since been resolved by a ruling that permits all subject except Afrikaans itself to be taught in English, which the students prefer.

Black Students Riot in South Africa; Third University Is Ordered Closed

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 18—Demonstrating students at one of South Africa's three black universities today threw a gasoline bomb into one of the main campus buildings and damaged others before being subdued by policemen using tear gas.

The incident at the University of Fort Hare was the first serious disturbance since widespread anti-Government rioting by blacks faded four weeks ago.

The university was closed indefinitely after the protest by the students against the Government's handling of the riots last month. Disturbances at that time at the two other universities for blacks caused them to be closed.

Initial reports said there had been no casualties in the upheaval, which began last night and continued spasmodically until policemen moved onto the campus in force this afternoon. Apparently the police, though armed, did not open fire.

Situation Is Tense

However, the situation remained tense for hours after the main confrontation ended. A band of demonstrators fleeing the police were reported to have barricaded themselves into a student hostel, and at nightfall it was still not clear whether they had surrendered.

Officials of the university, situated at Alice, 450 miles south of Johannesburg, said the trouble began when students gathered for a mass meeting to discuss last month's riots, in

which 174 blacks and two whites died.

The officials said they approved the gathering on the understanding that the discussions would center on proposals to establish a fund for relatives of riot victims and to suspend classes for a day of prayer.

However, the mood of the meeting was set by hand-lettered notices posted outside the university's main hall, where the discussions took place. The notices urged the students not to remain "inactive and passive" in face of Government suppression.

Notices posted elsewhere accused the 1,700 members of the student body of being "intellectual sellouts" and wheels in "the white man's machine." These apparently were references to the students' decision to return to the university last week, despite calls by black militants for a boycott.

When the meeting broke up, after four hours of anti-Government speeches, some of the students went on a rampage. Windows in a number of buildings were smashed by stones and there were unsuccessful attempts to set the building housing the university's department of fine arts and a nearby post office on fire.

This morning, after a request for another mass meeting was refused, the violence resumed.

University officials said that about 150 demonstrators streamed across the campus, stoning cars and buildings. At the height of the violence, a bottle filled with gasoline was tossed into the university's Great Hall, setting it afire.

When campus policemen failed in their attempts to quell

the violence, the acting rector of the university, A. J. Coetzee, summoned the police. Mr. Coetzee, who is white, said later that the move had been "unavoidable and necessary" to prevent loss of life and irreparable property damage.

He announced subsequently that the university would close indefinitely. The decision meant that all three black universities are now shut, since the other two—the University of the North at Turfloop in the Northern Transvaal, and the University of Zululand, at Empangeni in Natal Province—were closed after disturbances that broke out during the rioting last month.

Agitation Cited

The University of Fort Hare, which is on the border of the Ciskei "homeland," about 45 miles west of the coastal city of East London, in Cape Province, was not in session when the rioting broke out.

The upheaval on the campus came less than three days after the Government took steps to deter a fresh outbreak of violence in the black townships around Johannesburg and Pretoria, where the rioting was concentrated. Citing "agitation" among students, it postponed the reopening of schools in the townships, which were to have reconvened on Tuesday.

The Government also invoked new powers that permit the detention of anyone considered a threat to public order, and extended a ban on outdoor meetings. The police concede that the new detention powers have been used, but refused to say how many arrests have been made.

NYT July 19 '76

Soweto Schools Closed Again As Most Students Stay Away

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 26—Schools in Soweto closed again today after most of the township's 250,000 students stayed away, as they have on each of the three days since the schools reopened last week. Most other townships reported normal or near-normal attendance.

A police spokesman said the 256 schools were closed at midday because of poor attendance, but there had been disquiet among officials earlier in the day when a group of students stoned others arriving at one school.

The demonstrators dispersed when policemen arrived. No casualties were reported. Elsewhere in the township crowds of students hurled taunts at police units that have been on standby since anti-Government rioting last month.

Black schools throughout the country were closed at the outbreak of the rioting, which began with student protest in Soweto.

NYT JULY 17 '76

New York Times July 17 '76

NYT July 17 '76

New clamps on the black townships

From STANLEY UYS: Cape Town, July 16

South African police moved into action today to prevent further unrest in the black townships in and around Johannesburg.

Police units were put on standby throughout the Witwatersrand and strong police patrols moved into Soweto, the township with a million population that serves as Johannesburg's labour reservoir.

All open-air meetings except sports meetings have been banned until the end of the month in the Transvaal, and the new Internal Security Act was brought into operation. This provides for up to a year in gaol for people likely to disturb the order of the community.

A round-up of alleged agitators is expected to begin at once. Already nine leaders of the black consciousness groups like South African Students Organisation and the Black Peoples' Convention, have been taken into custody this week under existing legislation.

The authorities have placed a ban on all whites entering Soweto. Permits of welfare workers, priests, doctors, and others have been withdrawn.

"At this stage we cannot guarantee the safety of people in Soweto," an official said. A police spokesman, however, said that Soweto was "quiet and relaxed" today.

Last night the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, announced that black schools in the Transvaal, due to reopen on Tuesday, would remain closed "until agitation has stopped." He claimed that agitators were active in Soweto and other areas, inciting residents to riot on Tuesday.

"People are being intimidated and threatened with assault should they not do what these agitators want them to do," he said. "Some residents, workers and children have been scared by agitators and rumours and are apprehensive about what might happen on Tuesday."

Announcing preventive measures, Mr Kruger said: "The sections of the Internal Security Act, authorising the preventive detention of people

engaging in activities that endanger the maintenance of public order, will be brought into operation immediately.

"Agitators who do not cease their activities immediately will be prevented from continuing with it by being placed in detention in terms of the Act."

"Similar steps will be taken in respect of the manipulators who send out others while they themselves remain in safety out of the public eye."

The Government was conscious that many law-abiding students and parents who worked hard to help their children through school would suffer because schools would not reopen on Tuesday, he said. "They will, however, realise that this state of affairs has been brought about by subversive elements misusing scholars and threatening residents for their own peculiar selfish ends."

"The Government will do everything in its power to eliminate these elements and to restore school facilities to the residents of affected areas as soon as possible."

The Minister said residents and scholars should note that with the language issue resolved (the Government no longer compels black schools to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction) agitators were now "trying to inflame the people by spreading rumours about children under arrest as a result of last month's disturbances."

During last month's riots in Soweto more than 1,000 Africans were arrested on various charges arising out of the disturbances. Among them were an undisclosed number of schoolchildren. Demonstrations apparently were planned for Tuesday against the detention of these children.

The Minister said today that all juveniles (under 18) had been released in the custody of their parents, but all blacks aged 18 and over who had been arrested on charges arising from the riots would be tried in court in the normal way. They are being detained at police headquarters in Johannesburg.

SOUTH AFRICAN NEMESIS

MUCH IN THE WORLD around and outside South Africa has changed in the 16 years since 69 Black rioters were shot dead by police in the township of Sharpeville. Not enough has changed inside South Africa itself. That must be the first reaction to the rioting and deaths at Soweto. After Sharpeville, which rang round the world, it was said that the South African Government was taking steps greatly to improve its methods of riot control. If it did, the results were not evident in Soweto.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1976

The riots have not only shown how deep antagonism has really become, but have also demonstrated the ferocious intent of the urban black youth to change his environment.

Johannesburg, June 17

For more than a month there have been warning signs that the strike in Soweto against enforced instruction in Afrikaans could end in violence. Parents, teachers and black leaders all warned of the dangers inherent in the situations.

The Government will doubtless try to dismiss the Soweto upheavals as an example of mindless vandalism fuelled by political agitators. Certainly there is evidence that what began as a legitimate protest march degenerated into bouts of looting and hooliganism that had no political motive.

But to suggest, as one senior minister has already done in private, that it was inspired by communists and South Africa's enemies to embarrass Mr Vorster, the Prime Minister, before his visit to Europe next week (as it will assuredly do) is to avoid the real issue.

South Africa's blacks, and particularly the 8,000,000 of them living in "white" urban areas, are becoming increasingly bitter. The Government talks about change but there is none except at the superficial level of park benches and five-star hotels. The Government says it intends to move away from discrimination based on race—but this is only seen in terms of its "Bantustan" policy under which there would eventually be no black South Africans, only foreign "temporary sojourners" from the black homelands.

The Government also lays great emphasis on reaching "détente" with its black neighbours to the north. But what about trying to achieve détente inside South Africa first? the blacks ask. They point out that for all the Government's pious promises there has not been a single change in apartheid legislation.

The feeling of anti-white belligerency is particularly strong among the young. They denounce their parents for accepting the Government's classification of them as "non-whites". They are black and proud of it. Due to the Government's policy of separating the races they have virtually no contact with whites. The language ruling was seen by them as a burden imposed by the white man to prevent them progressing.

The mood of the young black militants was summed up by Dr Melville Edelstein, the white official who was battered to death at the start of yesterday's rioting. In his book *What Do Young Africans Think*, he warned that the antagonism of the young black elite towards the white establishment should never be underestimated. The Soweto riots have not only shown how deep that antagonism has already become but have also demonstrated the ferocious intent of the urban black youth to change his environment.

But will the Government heed the warning signs? Past experience does not provide cause for optimism.

Nicholas Ashford

Many Arrests Reported in South Africa Since Rioting

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 1—The wave of arrests that began with the recent outbreak of rioting has continued since the rioting was suppressed, with the Government reportedly making widespread use of laws that permit indefinite detention without trial.

In accordance with practice, the police have disclosed almost nothing about the "large-scale detentions" reported in the local press. However, they have confirmed that one of those seized was Victor Gallinigi, an official of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Southern Africa.

Mr. Gallinigi, who is black, was arrested by the security police in Pretoria, the capital, on Tuesday. A simultaneous swoop by another security detachment in Johannesburg resulted in the arrest of Thomas Manthatha, an executive of the Black People's Convention, which is militantly opposed to apartheid.

1,298 Reported Arrested

An official statement last Friday, before the latest operation, said that a total of 1,298 people had been arrested since the outbreak of the rioting on June 16. However, there was no breakdown to show how many were held under the detention laws, as opposed to those charged with specific offenses.

Perhaps intentionally, the arrests have had the effect of dampening criticism of the Government's handling of the riots, in which 176 people died. Some of the more steadfast critics have continued to speak out, but other opponents of apartheid who are usually vocal have said very little. Privately, some have said that to go further would invite imprisonment.

With the Government dis-

closing very little, newspapers have speculated that the arrests of the last two weeks have involved the first use of the wide powers contained in a bill that became law just before the rioting erupted. The bill authorizes the indefinite detention of anybody considered to be a threat to state security or public order.

When he unveiled the bill in May, the Minister of Justice and Police, James T. Kruger, vowed to use its powers to the full in combating what he described as an unprecedented threat of internal subversion. Target groups he specified included militant black organizations, radical Christian groups and those in the news media who used their position to foster "revolution."

Opposition groups have dubbed the new law the "SS Bill," after its original title, the Promotion of State Security Bill. The Government, sensitive to any criticism that suggests an analogy between police powers here and those in Hitler's Germany, subsequently amended the name. It went

Reports from the scene said that about 3,000 black youths had poured out of black townships and attacked people and buildings in areas occupied by Indians and people of mixed descent, who are called colored here.

Few details were available, and it was unclear how the reported death had occurred. However, the riot policemen, armed with automatic rifles, were acting under standing Government orders to suppress fresh outbreaks of violence with all necessary force.

The possibility of a chain reaction was raised by a police report of at least one outbreak elsewhere. At midnight, rioters were said to have set fire to several buildings in Khutsong, a black township near Carletonville, a mining town southwest of Johannesburg.

The death would be the first since the end of the rioting in black townships near Pretoria and Johannesburg last month. That upheaval, set off by a student protest in Soweto, a township outside Johannesburg, ended with 176 dead and 1,139 injured.

The Witbank area violence began earlier in the day with groups of students attacking Government officials, vehicles and buildings. But the pattern changed at nightfall, with the violence reportedly taking on interracial tones.

onto the statute books as the Internal Security Act.

Its powers, though far reaching, are essentially a consolidation of those already possessed by the police under a web of security legislation dating from the early 1950's. Its forerunners, still in force, include the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, and the Riotous Assemblies Act, as well as a series of eight laws and proclamations that provide exclusively for detention without trial.

The legislation obliges the Government to disclose very little about its police operations, but a recent tally by the Christian Institute of South Africa, one of the organizations Mr. Kruger has threatened to suppress, estimated that at least 77 people were under detention, almost all of them black. The report said at least 217 people had been detained since the beginning of 1974, for an average of slightly more than three months each.

An earlier estimate by the International Defence and Aid Fund, a London-based group that campaigns for the release of political prisoners, suggested that the scope of detentions was far wider. In its booklet, "South Africa: The Imprisoned Society," it estimated that at least 14,000 people were detained between 1960 and 1967, usually for periods of three to nine months.

2 French Warships

PARIS, July 31 (Reuters) — France has sold two destroyer escorts to South Africa, according to officials.

The first of the 1,170-ton d'Estienne d'Orves class being built at Lorient will be delivered at the end of next year, the other by mid-1978, the officials said yesterday.

Both will be armed with French MM 38 Exocet missiles, which have a 25-mile range at near supersonic speed.

South Africa previously bought two attack submarines of the 1,400-ton Agosta class and three smaller submarines of the Daphne class.

NYT 8:11:76

The South African Press Association, quoting witnesses, said that black youths had attacked Indians and coloreds, and burned at least three Indian stores and an Indian community center. The news agency did not say whether the police had opened fire.

The agency also reported that blacks had attacked cars driven by whites on the highway between Pretoria and Witbank, which passes near several black townships. The reports said that several whites had been injured, including a

by charging four policemen with Mr. Mdluli's murder. The case, unprecedented in South Africa, has yet to come to trial.

Bombing in San Francisco Tied to South African Deaths

SAN FRANCISCO, July 1 (Reuters)—A powerful bomb exploded on the doorstep of the South African Consul's home here early today, causing an estimated \$20,000 in damage and blowing out windows in nearby houses.

Immediately after the bombing a young woman called a local television station and said it had been carried out in sympathy for the deaths of 1,000 black people who had died recently in South Africa.

The caller said the attack was performed by the Lucio Cabanes Unit of the New World Liberation Front, an underground group that has taken responsibility for a number of political bombings here in the last two years.

4-year-old girl struck by stones thrown through the windshield of her parents' car.

Attacks Have Been Rare

Despite the strains of apartheid, the separation of races, attacks by blacks on people of other races have been rare. Two white officials were killed in the early stages of the violence in Soweto. But rioters subsequently directed most of their fury at Government property.

As the interracial violence flared, attacks on Government property in the Witbank area continued. The rioters were reported to have attacked several offices of the Highveld Bantu Administration Board, the agency that supervises the townships in the Witbank area, and to have set fire to 15 cars, several belonging to the board. At least 20 whites, including officials, were reported injured.

The violence in Witbank appeared to have been caused by the reopening of black schools, which were closed throughout the country at the outbreak of the Soweto rioting. The Government, warning that "agitators" were attempting to provoke fresh trouble among students, decided last week to postpone indefinitely the reopening of the schools in Soweto and neighboring townships.

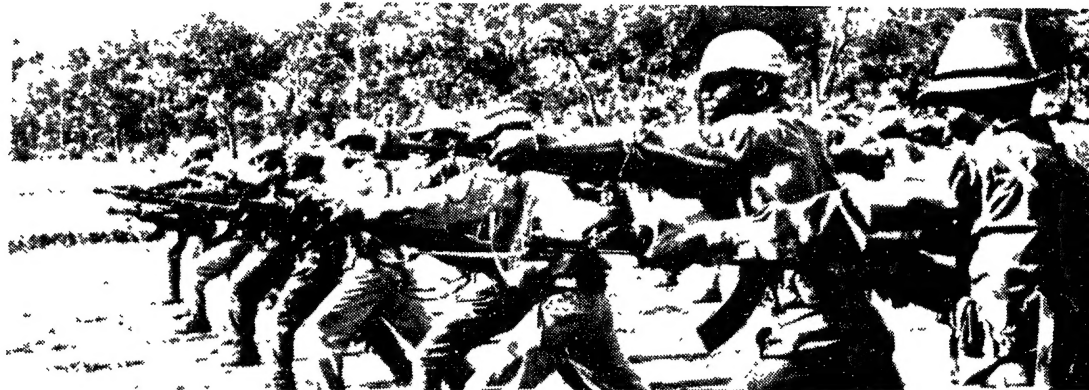
South African Black Is Reported Killed In Renewed Rioting

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 20—At least one black man was reported killed tonight when police reinforcements were rushed to the coal-mining center of Witbank, 75 miles east of here, which was in the grip of the most serious rioting since the widespread anti-Government upheavals last month.

New York Times July 2 '76

New York Times July 21 '76



Forces of the southern African revolution

SA's long road to salvation

Percy Qoboza, Editor of The World, tells the Prime Minister that he must do something dramatic to turn South Africa from its perilous course — and that he must realise that he is dealing with a new generation of Black people.

Some time ago, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, raised the expectations of the country to unprecedented levels with his "give me six months" speech in Nigel. Yet, at the end of that six months, South Africa was still labouring under the racism that is this country's hallmark, and indeed, but for some minor concessions, we were at a complete standstill.

Now our reading of the situation today prompts us to give Mr Vorster six months, during which time he must do something dramatic to turn the country from its present perilous course or we predict that this country will face international pressures on a scale such as we have never seen. Al-

ready the signs and the writing are clearly and unmistakably on the wall.

To come to terms with the situation, he will have to take a long and hard look at the home front.

The first thing he will have to do is to decide once and for all which is more important — the survival of the National Party or the salvation of South Africa.

I do not underestimate the tremendous problems Mr Vorster faces in this regard.

I appreciate that as far as he is concerned, his actions may decide whether his political career survives or the National Party enters the 21st century in an orderly and peaceful manner.

While I know that he cannot go too far and too fast, I must point out that my people cannot and dare not sit around accepting indignity indefi-

nately. For our people the problems of the National Party are irrelevant. They could not care a hoot whether Mr Vorster must take along gently by the hand his conservative wing of the party and explain to them the importance of turning over a new leaf.

Far too often, our people have to sit around while newspapers and Mr Vorster's Black emissaries in the name of homeland leaders, preach the gospel of gradualism. This is behind us now. For our people, particularly our young people, have — quite rightly — equated gradualism with standing still. And this is the crux of Mr Vorster's internal challenge — to come to terms with the new spirit.

So, while he gives thought to the interests of the National Party, he must also recognise the impatience of the Blacks.

What happened in Soweto and other Reef townships recently could become — whether the Security Branch is active or not — a permanent feature of our life. And there is no guarantee

either that the anger will be confined to the townships only.

Mr Vorster's task is to see to it that it does not happen again, but the Security Branch and police demonstration of strength is not the way to do it. He must hold honest discussions with the leaders of the people — and these do not include the Urban Bantu Council who are merely an extension of his system — but the real leaders of the people.

Our people are determined to share in the decision-making bodies of our country and in the wealth of our fatherland. Nothing more and nothing less. The only way Mr Vorster and his Government can deprive us of these rights is by the perpetuation of the present institutionalised violence being perpetrated against us.

I need hardly have to remind Mr Vorster that our people have over the decades worked strenuously to achieve peaceful change. For their efforts, the Government answered with institutionalised violence. In the face of

this, what avenues are still open to them — besides the UBC, and homelands — to express and articulate their aspirations?

So it seems to me that Mr Vorster needs to look at the National Party more than he does the Ivory Coast or Zambia. He needs to give more attention to Soweto, Umlazi and other Black townships than he does to Germany and Israel.

If he is concerned about the peaceful transformation of Southern Africa — as I am always told he is — then he must spell it out to the likes of Messrs M C Botha, Andries Treurnicht and Connie Mulder that the days of good kaffirs and obedient Bantus belong to the ox wagon era which is past, never to return.

Tell THEM that FORCE is no more the way to do things. It may cost him the leadership of the National Party, but at least his tomb could carry the proud epitaph that reads: "Here Lies a Man Who Loved His Country More Than His Party". And what a tribute



Police stand around their vehicles near the railway line looking towards Orlando West where the school students congregated yesterday.

Picture: HAROLD FIGLAN

STAR (Johannesburg)
July 24 '76

Transkei

THE Organisation of African Unity (OAU) today decided to make it compulsory for all 47 member states not to recognise the Transkei after its sham independence on October 26, this year.

BPC man police agent, court told

Staff Reporter

ONE of the nine accused in the Saso-BPC trial at the Pretoria criminal sessions yesterday described a star State witness witness as an "agent provocateur" employed by the special branch of the police.

The accused, Mr Strinivasa Rajoo Moodley, 29, was referring to Mr Harry Singh, a medical student who served as an executive member of the BPC.

Mr Moodley said under cross examination that he had known Mr Singh since primary school and was warned that he was working with the police when he joined Saso and BPC.

In his examination-in-chief Mr Moodley told the court Saso's aim was to fight for change on behalf of the Blacks within South African universities. He did not agree that Black Consciousness was a different form of Pan-Africanism although Black consciousness would eventually have to incorporate Pan-Africanism.

Rand Daily Mail (Jo'burg)

June 18 '76

New Violence In Soweto

There is continuing violence in the black townships around Johannesburg, particularly in Soweto where last month 176 persons died in rioting. Fourteen schools were damaged by arson last week and roving gangs of black youths in Soweto hurled rocks at police. The arson forced thousands of students to flee from their schools and by Friday they were less than half full.

New York Times Aug 1 '76

He denied there were anti-Indian sentiments among Saso members although he did feel that a number of Indians failed to identify with Blacks in South Africa and some Indians considered themselves a notch above Blacks.

Port Louis, Tuesday

An OAU spokesman said the move was to counter boasts by the white fascist regime's prime minister John Vorster that certain African countries would "recognise the homeland"

DAILY NEWS (Dar es Salaam)
June 29 '76

Transkei warning of riots

THE SENATE — If the Government pushes through the Status of the Transkei Bill worse riots than those in Soweto can be expected, Senator C G Henderson (UP) said recently.

The Government's policy of separate development is a political illusion and a simplistic solution for South Africa's problems, he added.

Senator Henderson, speaking in the Second Reading debate on the Bill, described the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, as "the inheritor of the mantle of the great illusionist".

"I challenge the Minister to give evidence that this legislation has support outside National Party ranks," said Senator Henderson.

"Everyone rejects this Bill, the citizenship provisions in particular.

"But of course the Minister will ignore objections made by the Opposition, Bantu leaders and people in the National Party.

"He will ignore the les-

son of the tragic riots and force this Bill through the House.

"Does the Government think for one minute it is improving the security of Whites in South Africa with this Bill?"

All security legislation will be of no avail until the Minister's activities are neutralised, said Senator Henderson.

"Until this is done the Minister provides a greater threat to South Africa than anything else," he went on.

Replying, Senator J H Loock (NP) described Senator Henderson as a typical Natal colonial imperialist jingo.

The Deputy President ordered him to withdraw this.

Mr Botha said Senator Henderson's allegations were wrong and irresponsible.

"By saying these things he is aggravating the unrest," he added.

Senator Brian Bamford (PRP) said Mr Botha should have gone to Johannesburg to deal with Soweto at first hand.

Mr Botha, he added, had been warned for at least six weeks that there was a cauldron boiling. — Sapa.

STAR (Jo'burg) June 26 '76

'Positive phase' in OAU drive

The Star's Africa News Service

PORT LOUIS — Calls for a new, "positive" phase of Black Africa's campaign against South Africa, to accompany the active struggles in Rhodesia and South West Africa, dominated the opening of the OAU Foreign Ministers' meeting here this week.

All the opening speakers followed the lead of their host, the Mauritian Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. He set the militant tone, condemned White reaction to the race riots in Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa and demanded that they be regarded as the beginning of a concerted drive to replace the Vorster Government with Black rule.

Despite some attempts to link Africa with the Arab anti-Israel campaign, Southern Africa dominated the first session.

NEARER GOAL

Opening the meeting with a minute's silence "for the fallen" in Soweto, Sir Seewoosagur said African hearts had yearned for the liberation movements to bring light and sunshine into Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa) and Azania (South Africa).

The extermination of "our brothers and children" in Soweto would stiffen Africa's sinews and determination to remove the continent's last remaining shackles of colonialism, apartheid and discrimination.

STAR (Jo'burg) June 19 '76

Transkei: the facts

YOUR Letters columns of March 25 and May 5 carried a very important exchange between Professor P. Verhoef and Mr G. J. Richter, deputy director of Benbo (Bureau of Economic Research, Bantu Development), about the figures for gross national income (GNI) per head included in Benbo's recent Transkei Economic Review.

The exchange's importance lies in its implications for Transkeian development policy, with Verhoef suggesting over-estimation (and hence over optimism) and Richter defending the data as not only altogether accurate but "impressive and there is no other country in Africa that shows better increases".

Chief Kaiser Matanzima was understandably elated at the growth rate indicated by Benbo's analysis, and, as recently as June 1, Mr J. P. Maritz, of the new Transkei Development Corporation, told a Port Elizabeth professional audience: "The income per capita in the Transkei is among the top three in all African states", clearly basing his statement on the Benbo report.

Mistakes

The sad fact is that both Verhoef and Richter made some serious mistakes in their economic analyses. In particular, before Benbo's glossy analysis becomes the established wisdom, it is in order to set the facts straight, not from any narrow interest in correcting Verhoef, Richter, or Benbo, but because accurate analysis is one absolute prerequisite for Transkeian economic development.

To begin with, Professor Verhoef was wrong in his claim that all "Xhosa-speaking wage-earners in the White areas" were included. This is simply not so, as a close reading of table 6.4 (page 40 of the report) makes clear.

Mr Richter is quite right to refute Professor Verhoef on this point, but he went on to make a very serious

mistake. He justified the inclusion in Transkeian national income of the total income received by "temporarily absent migrant workers" on the grounds that this step is "based on the internationally-accepted methods as set out in a publication of the United Nations".

Whatever the particular publication Mr Richter is alluding to, it is not generally-accepted international practice in the estimation of national income accounts to include all income earned by workers temporarily outside their countries of citizenship.

If it were, it would mean that the entire income earned by migrant Turkish workers in West Germany (to give only one example) would be counted toward the Turkish national income, even though the largest share of it is spent in West Germany and thereby contributes to that state's economic growth.

The generally-acceptable approach is to credit to the migrant worker's home country only that portion of earned income actually sent home.

Although Benbo's Transkei Economic Review fails to use this approach, it does contain one figure relevant to a correct analysis of the Transkeian GNI: a 1975 survey done for Benbo which estimated R63-million was sent to the Transkei by workers in the Republic in that year (see page 74).

Taking that figure as accurate and assuming that the same amount was returned to the Transkei in 1973 (a generous estimate, since both the numbers of migrant workers and their individual wages surely rose between 1973 and 1975), the total GNI for 1973 drops from Benbo's figure of R407-million to R185-million.

Generous

But this figure is too generous, for it includes the entire R15-million earned by Whites in the Transkei, without subtracting the portion sent back to the Republic.

If 20 per cent of this total is subtracted (since Benbo provides no basis for this calculation, our own guess is required), total GNI falls to R182-million.

A second error in the Benbo analysis involves the population base used to calculate the per capita GNI. The total de facto population of 1.7-million should be used. Instead, Benbo uses a figure of 2.3-million, which has no apparent justification, since it is larger than the sum of the de facto population and the temporary migrant population, and whose correction by us increases the figure for GNI per head.

Thus, the Transkeian GNI per head for 1973 was R104, rather than Benbo's estimated R175 — an over-estimation of 68 per cent. The correct figure of R104 is crucial because it belies the easy optimism shown by Richter and Maritz.

Comparable figures for a small number of Black African countries, drawn from the reliable data provided by the International Monetary Fund in its International Financial Statistics, shows the Transkei far from being high-ranking in GNI per head:

Zambia	R264	(1971)
Ghana	179	(1972)
Nigeria	144	(1973)
Kenya	126	(1973)
TRANSKEI	104	(1973)
Uganda	101	(1971)
Tanzania	88	(1973)
Zaire	81	(1972)

Turning to the Benbo analysis of the trend in GNI per head from 1970 to 1973, if we assume that Benbo made the same error in its estimation of 1973 GNI as it did in its 1973 estimation, then the growth rate remains the same, 41 per cent.

But Benbo did not discount for the impact of inflation on this gross growth rate. Without data for Transkeian Black consumer price inflation from 1970-1973, we are forced to take a general figure for the Republic, which suggests an overall inflation of 25 per cent over this period.

Subtracting this 25 per cent from the 41 per cent growth rate, leaves 16 per cent, or 5.3 per cent/year, a reasonable real growth rate, but far from the spectacular 13.7 per cent wrongly suggested by Benbo.

Migratory

How accurate is Benbo's estimate of R63-million sent back to the Transkei by migratory workers in 1975? We don't know, not

having access to the study from which that figure was drawn, but we do know the history of previous analyses of this indicator, many of which assumed that something like 25 per cent of total wages would be returned, apparently using as their basis one study done well over a decade ago.

We hope that the Transkei survey actually accumulated figures for remittances received.

We would suggest that the percentage of remittances may have dropped in the past few years, to the extent that inflation among migrant workers has outpaced their wage increases.

Finally, the Benbo analysis provides no data to help scholars, planners, or Transkeian political leaders to understand the dynamics of income distribution in that territory.

Although a contentious point, it has proven to be central to any assessment of economic development in the independent Black African states.

Our underlying concern in this analysis is with Transkeian economic development, not with refutation of Benbo. We appreciate the largely unpublicised work Benbo does to facilitate homeland economic planning and development and we are well aware of the substantial financial commitment made by the XDC to Transkeian development.

Nonetheless, what our re-analysis of Benbo data suggests is simple: bad economics makes bad planning. Transkeian economic development is too important to rest on such shaky foundations. — P. A. BLACK, Department of Economics, and JOHN SEILER, Department of Political Studies, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Rand Daily Mail (Jo'burg)
June 23 '76

South Africa's inhuman pass laws that stop a child living with its mother

Johannesburg

It was about two o'clock in the morning when four policemen—two white and two black—called at my house. They did not knock at the front door, but went straight to the back where the "servants' quarters" are situated—the stable-like rooms for domestic workers that are a feature of most white South African homes.

The raid was in vain. The "servants' quarters" have been empty for months and all the police found were a few crumpled papers and pots of paint. They then moved on to other houses in the neighbourhood to continue their search.

They were looking for "illegal Africans"; the countless thousands of blacks in South Africa who do not possess the necessary permit to be in a particular place at a specified time. It may be an African male who is spending the night illegally with his wife; a child who is breaking the law by living with his mother in a white area; it could be one of the thousands of men who are obliged to "moonlight" because they can obtain neither residence nor work permits.

The night-time raids on white homes are less frequent than they used to be, but they still continue in the black African townships like Soweto and Alexandra, where whole families are often ordered out of their beds in the middle of the night while their names are checked and their houses searched.

The raids are one of the numerous indignities to which blacks in urban areas are subjected under the hated pass law system. While the Afrikaans language issue may have triggered off the recent wave of violence in South Africa's black townships, for many blacks the riots were an expression of more deep-seated grievances, of which the pass system is the most profoundly felt.

Officially, passes ceased to exist in 1952 when the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act came into force. Instead a new form of identity document, known as a reference book, was introduced. This contains a black person's identity

number, photograph, ethnic group, name and address of employer, and details of taxes paid by him—all of which are correlated on a huge computer in Pretoria. Reference books must be carried at all times by every African over the age of 16—but not by whites, Coloureds or Asians. Despite the 1952 law, they are still universally known as passes.

Sharpeville was a protest against the pass laws. Mr Robert Sobukwe, the nationalist leader, spent nine years in jail and remains under restriction in Kimberley because of his opposition to the system. Even the most timid of the black "homeland" leaders (who also have to carry passes when they visit "white" areas), have raised objections with Mr Vorster, the Prime Minister.

The pass laws have a deep moral, social and economic impact on the lives of all blacks living in South Africa. By frequently forcing husbands, wives and children to live apart, they cause a break-up of family life, and the fear of being "endorsed out" of a prescribed area and sent to a "homeland" or of losing one's rights to live in a house, creates an overwhelming sense of insecurity among Africans.

Basically the pass system lays down where an African

may live and work. Most of the problems of the urban Africans arise from the administration of section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. This allows a black to remain in a prescribed area for only 72 hours unless he has lived there continuously since birth, has worked there continuously with one employer for at least 10 years, or is the wife, unmarried daughter or son aged under 18 of that person.

No black ever has a guaranteed right to remain in a prescribed area, even if he has lived there since birth.

During the past two years—since the government announced its intention to "move away from discrimination based on race"—officials have been maintaining that the pass system is being administered in a more humane and reasonable way. In a superficial sense this may be true.

For example, the fact that thousands of black husbands sleep with their wives in white households while the authorities apparently turn a blind eye could be taken as a sign that the laws are being less rigorously executed.

Similarly the number of prosecutions of pass law offenders has dropped from 615,075 in 1970-71 to 511,163 in 1973-74.

This is one quarter of all cases sent for trial in South Africa and works out at about 1,400 cases a day.

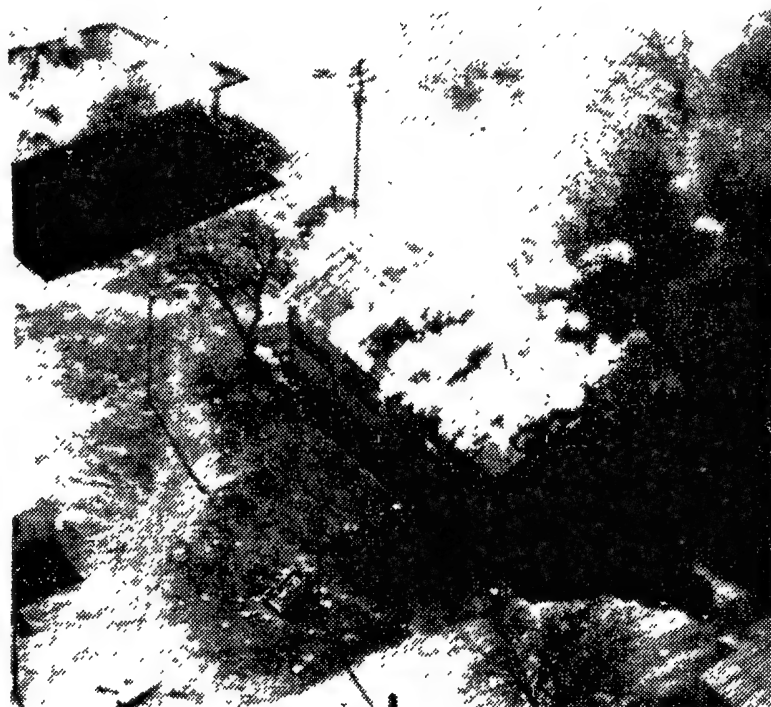
According to officials at the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the decline in the number of prosecutions has resulted from the introduction three years ago of aid centres for pass offenders in the main urban areas. The aim of the 19 centres is to keep technical pass offenders out of the courts and where possible to help unemployed blacks to find jobs. Last year more than 200,000 blacks were referred to these centres.

However, Dr Francis Wilson, of Cape Town University, who has made a study of the pass system, believes the drop in prosecutions is only temporary, as happened after Sharpeville. He maintains that contraventions of the pass laws have been steadily rising since the Nationalist government came to power, from an average of 319,000 a year during the 1950s to 449,000 a year during the 1960s and an average of 556,000 a year between 1970 and 1974. Dr Wilson says that in his experience there has been no noticeable relaxation in the application of the pass laws.

A similar view is taken by Mrs Sheena Duncan, national chairman of the Black Sash, a liberal women's organization which dishes out free advice on pass matters from an overcrowded office in Johannesburg. "I challenge anyone to show me one area where the pass laws are being applied less rigidly", she says.

Officials at the Department of Bantu Administration in Pretoria admit that the present system does cause hardship, particularly where family life is concerned. A special committee was set up in 1974, following a meeting between Mr Vorster and the "homeland" leaders, to examine how the pass laws could be simplified and made more tolerable. The committee has yet to submit its report, but Mr Vorster made it quite clear at the time that influx control measures would have to remain in operation for the foreseeable future.

Nicholas Ashford



Smoke rises from a building set ablaze by rioters to join the cloud hanging over Soweto.

TIMES (London) June 25

How America depends on South Africa

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — American reliance, amounting in some cases to dependence, on South African raw materials has been underlined by Treasury and Commerce Department officials.

They have been giving testimony before Negro Congressman Charles Diggs on the soaring American economic stake in South Africa.

A top Treasury official even told Mr Diggs America hoped for assurances of steady supplies of raw materials from South Africa under trade agreements.

TO USE

This ran contrary to Mr Diggs's purpose in calling for the testimony, which he hopes to use to attack and perhaps reduce economic relationships with South Africa.

Observers at the Diggs hearings note that evidence of American reliance on South Africa is bound to strengthen the hand of South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, at his meeting with America's Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger this month.

At the hearings an official from the South African Embassy, was, as usual, taking notes.

Dramatic disclosures at the hearings included:

UK

Jersey, Friday.

A LOCAL firm was fined 1,600 sterling (about 24,000/-) here today for exporting spare parts for armoured fighting vehicles to South Africa in defiance of an arms embargo.

Jersey's Royal Court was told that the firm, Technical Support Services Limited, a subsidiary of Aviation Jersey Limited, had applied for eight export licences which falsely described the spares as "petrol engines."

● American imports from South Africa, largely of raw materials, trebled between 1971 and 1975, to more than R700-million.

● American exports to South Africa doubled from around R500-million during that time.

Treasury officials say: "There is no question that many of South Africa's minerals are important to our economy, and that alternative sources of supply for some are not readily available or are unavailable."

STAR (Johannesburg) June 19 1976

America keen

By ADAM PAYNE

MORE American mining men have been visiting South Africa looking for mining prospects in the past few months that at any time in recent years.

A letter from an American company says it has a client with \$25-million looking for platinum prospects in the Rustenburg area. I told the company that Rustenburg and Impala had all that but-
toned up.

These instances of American interest in South Africa are given to show that the Angolan debacle apparently did not cool American ardour for investment in South Africa.

It remains to be seen whether the Soweto rioting will cause a dampener, but an equally important factor will be the outcome of the Kissinger-Vorster talks.

American companies realise that the United States needs many minerals, apart from chrome, that can be mined on a large scale in Africa.

Companies such as United States Steel are securing their supplies of fluorspar, which is used in steel making.

Union Carbide, one of the largest exporters of Rhodesian chrome ore to the United States before the border closure, is securing its supplies of ferrochrome from South Africa in a partnership with General Mining.

HIGH

United States Steel, through a subsidiary, is prospecting, and the same goes for names high on the American mining list, such as Phelps Dodge and Utah International.

The attitude to mining investment higher up Africa is not as enthusiastic as it was 10 years ago. The same goes, I am sure, for Anglo American Corporation and Amax — the two giants in Zambian copper and Botswana RST.

But this does not mean that American or South African companies have cut Black Africa from their visiting lists.

If an investment is sound with a higher return than formerly expected, and reasonable prospects of stable government, American companies are still willing to consider investment in Black Africa.

African countries have about 42 per cent of the world cobalt, 34 per cent of its bauxite and 17 per cent of the copper.

Treasure like that cannot be ignored by companies

based in developed countries where minerals are being mined out.

Americans say that changes in government in African countries have seldom resulted in economic chaos.

MERITS

They accept that African governments now demand a share — probably free ride — in the equity of any company launched to develop a large mine.

They consider that there cannot be generalisations about possible nationalisation. The outlook in each country must be examined on its merits.

Zambia, for instance, is determined to honour its obligations for taking over the management of the Roan Consolidated and Anglo American mines.

Zambia has 51 per cent of the mines and is unlikely to demand more because of the damage that would be caused to its credit.

These considerations do not mean that Americans are ready to rush into Black African countries. They will tread warily and in spite of resolutions in the United Nations and calls for boycotts of South Africa, they are at this moment — before the outcome of the Kissinger talks — still keenly interested in investment in South Africa.

Rand Daily Mail (Jo'burg)
June 23 1976

Protest S. Africa killings



A Young Pioneer in Dar es Salaam

● Hundreds of Dar es Salaam residents yesterday took part in a massive demonstration to condemn the white fascist regime's massacre of innocent, defenceless people in South Africa.

In a message at a rally held after the demonstration, the Party Publicity Secretary Ndugu Daudi Mwakawago, said that the people of South Africa needed "a united, strong leadership to spread the revolutionary spirit not only to the Soweto township, but also to all parts of South Africa."

Ndugu Mwakawago called on the youths "to be prepared to go and fight in South Africa. The defence forces and People's Militia must be prepared. The Party will one day give an order for the youths to fulfil their responsibility in fighting for the liberation of Africa."

Speaking at the rally, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) acting president, Ndugu Potlako Leballo, disclosed that he had cabled the current OAU chairman and the chairman of the OAU Council of Ministers to place high on the agenda the Soweto massacre. He said the reply "has been positive."

The TYL Secretary General Ndugu C. Ijundu, called on the youth to "bury imperialism."

Daily News (Dar) June 23 '76

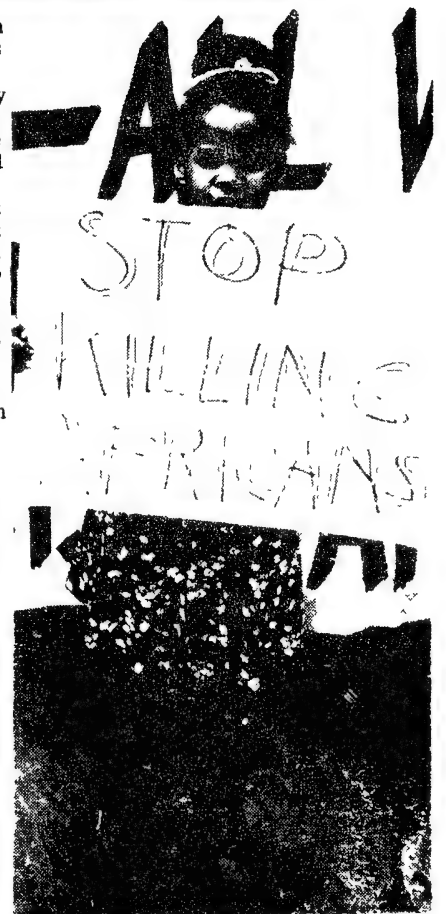
Demonstrations in U.S. cities

David Sibeko of the Pan African Congress (PAC), a liberation organization active in South Africa, called for African countries to unite in an All-African Defense Force against South Africa and called for a boycott of U.S. corporations doing business with South Africa.

At the South African mission, Sibeko addressed the crowd "This is the first of many acts of solidarity we will expect from you because the struggle is going to be a protracted one," he said "They did not conquer the great Vietnamese and they will not conquer the people of Azania [South Africa]. We will fight until

Azania is an independent, democratic and socialist country. . . Africa must be free from Capetown to Cairo. . . Cabral and Lumumba have not died in vain."

Guardian (NYC) June 30 '76



Child demonstrator outside SA "Mission", New York City



Many an Azanian young girl, like the Sister above, were massacred by police in Soweto on June 16

SOWETO MASSACRE

SWAPO OBSERVER MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAS LEARNED WITH PROFOUND SHOCK AND INDIGNATION THE DASTARDLY MAIMING AND COLD-BLOODED MURDER OF INNOCENT SCHOOL CHILDREN AND OTHER YOUTH BY THE FASCIST SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AND ARMY OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS IN SOWETO AND OTHER BLACK TOWNSHIPS AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN SOUTH AFRICA (AZANIA).

WE EXTEND OUR MILITANT AND COMRADELY HANDS IN SUPPORT OF AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE VALIANT PATRIOTS AND FIGHTERS IN THAT SISTER COUNTRY AND EXPRESS OUR SINCERE SORROW AND CONDOLENCES, THROUGH THEIR VANGUARD LIBERATION MOVEMENTS THE PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, TO THE NEXT OF KIN OF THOSE WHO DIED SO UNTIMELY, BUT NOT IN VAIN. WE FURTHER EXHORT THESE FRATERNAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO ACCELERATE EVEN MORE THE REVOLUTIONARY EFFORTS TO MOBILISE THE ENTIRE MASSES IN THEIR COUNTRY IN ORDER TO SEIZE THE HOUR, THE DAY AND THE POWER. THE SITUATION THERE IS NOW RIPE FOR ACTION!

NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL MEN AND WOMEN OF DECENCY AND GOODWILL TO RAISE THEIR VOICES WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOUR IN CONCERT WITH US AND THE EMBATTLED MASSES IN SOUTH AFRICA (AZANIA) AGAINST THIS NEW WAIVE OF MASSACRES AND OTHER ATROCITIES UNLEASHED UPON OUR COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THAT COUNTRY.

IT IS A MATTER OF UTMOST URGENCY THAT THE UNITED NATIONS, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE REST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RESPOND PROMPTLY AND APPROPRIATELY TO THIS EXPLOSIVE SITUATION AND AT THE SAME TIME ASSURE THE HEROIC MASSES OF SOUTH AFRICA (AZANIA) THAT THEIR DEMANDS AND NATIONAL RESISTANCE ARE ADMIRERD AND SUPPORTED BY THE PEACE-LOVING AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES ALL OVER THE WORLD.

THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENT, SWAPO AND THIS MISSION STAND FIRMLY BESIDE AND BEHIND OUR PEOPLE IN THAT TROUBLED SISTER COUNTRY, KNOWING THAT THEIR WILL SHALL BE DONE!

African children shot by Vorster's police

by Denis Herbstein in Cape Town.

In a week of rioting in African townships near Johannesburg and Pretoria about 140 people, mainly black, were killed and 1,128 injured. The trouble began in the Johannesburg African township of Soweto on Wednesday last week when 10,000 high school pupils marched through the huge township (with a population of over one million) to demonstrate against the Government's ruling that Afrikaans be used with English as a medium of instruction in the teaching of subjects like mathematics, history and geography. Pupils at the Phefeni secondary school in the Orlando West area of Soweto have been on strike since mid-May against the directive.

Striking pupils from other schools joined in, carrying banners with slogans saying "Away with Afrikaans" and "Viva Azania," the name given to South Africa by members of the high school-based South African Students Movement, which figured prominently in the march.

A black newspaper reporter, Miss Sophie Tema, was at the Phefeni school standing behind a group of policemen, mostly blacks, who were facing a taunting crowd of "thousands" of black students. Then about 10 police vehicles arrived, and some 30 policemen got out. The white policemen, she said, were armed with revolvers. The taunting began again.

A white policeman, without warning, then hurled a tear-gas cannister into the crowd, which immediately began throwing rocks and other missiles at the police. Miss Tema then saw a white policeman pull out his revolver and fire it. Other policemen joined it. They were firing into the crowd, she said. She took a child, aged about seven, to a near-by clinic but he was dead on arrival.

After the students attacked policemen and officials and set fire to buildings and cars over a wide area of Soweto. One white motorist was dragged from his car by students and stabbed to death.

Cabinet Ministers appeared to be taken by surprise at the depth of feeling against the Afrikaans language issue among high school students in Soweto. In the Cape Town Parliament Justice Minister Mr Kruger said that police had acted in self-defence. They had maintained "the greatest measure of self-control" throughout the rioting in the face of strong provocation.

Asked why the police had not used rubber bullets, Mr Kruger said that after investigation it had been found that they made people "tame to the gun. Rioters must know that when a policeman picks up a rifle the best thing is to get out of the way immediately."

Rioting continued the following day and spread to other townships in the Witwatersrand area. In Parliament the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said that police had been ordered to protect lives and property at all cost and to use every available means at their disposal. His coming talks with Dr Kissinger would not deter him from taking firm action. "However important these discussions are, the maintenance of law and order is more important."

Mr Vorster said in a national television broadcast: "I cannot come to any other conclusion but that we are dealing here not with a spontaneous outburst but with a deliberate attempt to bring about polarisation between blacks and whites. Certain organisations and persons are working together to achieve this are doing this with a view to attaining obvious objectives."

There are growing fears that the Government is not willing or able to accept the lessons of the rebellion. So far they have announced the appointment of a commission of inquiry consisting of one white Transvaal judge. Black leaders in Soweto want blacks to be included on the commission. They have also refused to cooperate with the white Pantu administration officials until Afrikaans is withdrawn as a medium of instruction in schools.

DAILY MIRROR, Thursday, June 24, 1976

THE WORLD OF KEITH WAITE



"Sorry, I had to come straight from work."

SOUTH AFRICA

Soweto backlash



Several weeks after the explosive Soweto riots triggered by South African police firing on schoolchildren demonstrating against obligatory teaching in Afrikaans, little seems outwardly to have changed in the streets of cities on the Witwatersrand. Superficial contacts between black and white are much as they were before the outburst. But below the surface political observers feel that things may never ever be the same again.

The government has made a concession over the language issue, removing the obligation that black children be taught in Afrikaans as well as English.

But in the black townships, where the African is denied any permanence of tenure, there are the inevitable murmurings of "too little, too late". And a discernible mood of white backlash among English-speaking South Africans as well as in Afrikanerdom, is unlikely to encourage a government with a natural bent for intransigence, to adopt a more flexible attitude to the multiple African grievances.

South Africa after Soweto

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Johannesburg

The riots that ripped through Soweto and other black African townships in June have done more to politicize the blacks in South Africa than any other one thing since the Sharpeville demonstrations of 1960, according to a long-time white observer.

Now the townships are uneasily quiet. Police are patrolling the streets in force, the areas are closed off for whites, and meetings are banned.

Life carries on, but nothing is the same.

Officially, 176 died. But blacks, and some whites who work with the townships, talk of many more.

"They have taught us force," said a bitter 30-year-old black. "That's what we'll use."

To the observation that the blacks have no guns, "That doesn't matter. We'll use our lives."

He said that after the worst riots a suicide squad of about 20 youths had been planning to go into the white city of Johannesburg and wreck a supermarket, quite ready to be shot. They were talked out of it by an older man, he said.

"Their lives are their votes," said a liberal Afrikaner, recognizing the black's political frustration under the system of apartheid which, since 1948, has separated South Africa's 17.7 million blacks from the 4.1 million whites and deprived the blacks of any real political say.

When the blacks voted with their lives in Soweto, Alexandra, and other townships, they were mostly destroying property, and almost entirely property which symbolized the government. They burned government cars, offices, Dutch Reformed churches (the ruling Afrikaner religion), and liquor stores. Revenue from the latter is used for the budget for running the townships.

But there also was a lot of looting and unplanned destruction. "We did not take into account the thugs [called tsotsis locally]," one young black said. "We will have to include them in any plans," he added.

RENEWED VIOLENCE

JOHANNESBURG: Renewed violence broke out in Soweto last night as groups of screaming children carrying placards set fire to two schools and a recreation hall. All three buildings were seriously damaged.

Earlier in the day, two Black

In the aftermath of the riots the militants seem to be quietly more militant, waiting and planning, and the moderates less moderate.

Although the demonstrations were led by students (who have grown up almost completely out of touch with whites), some parents are trying to be more active.

In the chaos on June 21 an organization called Black Parents Association was formed to deal with the immediate problems of funerals and food. The BPA, chaired by a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Manes Buthelezi, calls itself an umbrella organization for 13 groups including the Black People's Convention and the South African Students' Organization. He said the blacks were giving up their white liberal spokesmen who had proved ineffective.

Politicization sought

Asked if BPA would become a political organization, Mr. Buthelezi told this reporter, "I hope so."

But whether the government will allow the BPA or any outspoken political organization much scope is questionable. So far the government has given only token concessions in the view of blacks — electricity for Soweto, a promise that the Afrikaans language will not have to be used in teaching mathematics and social studies, removal of a couple of officials said to have exacerbated the riots, and granting of limited powers to the Urban Bantu Councils, which are only advisory anyway.

Many people, black and white (although some whites are afraid to speak out publicly), think this is not enough. A concrete step must be taken to show that apartheid is being dismantled . . . not overthrown . . . but dismantled, says Dr. Beyers Naude of the Christian Institute.

Meanwhile, 22,000 people are waiting for houses in Soweto. They are jammed in with others, and when they finally do get houses they can never own the land they are on.

Also, many families in the townships are mother families (without men). These families, with a very few exceptions, are not allowed houses. Thousands of old people have no families, nowhere to go.

All of this could lead to another and bigger explosion, if not solved.

— THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, July 26, 1976

Window panes were broken at two schools in Zululand and East Griqualand on Monday night, and another school, the Montebello High School in Zululand, was closed yesterday after students stoned the hostel.

In Bloemfontein's Bochebela township, two classrooms and a store-room at the Marang Primary School, were partially destroyed by fire late on Monday night.

Editors of English language newspapers say the flow of letters to the editor makes sombre reading. "Many are too starkly racist to be printed," commented one. And Afrikaner opinion has returned to the familiar refrain of more and tougher law and order measures.

Furthermore, the position of the older African urban leaders is becoming less tenable as feeling mounts among the younger, more militant Africans. The Pretoria government has for years insisted that the only valid African leaders were those on the Bantustans — despite the presence of several million Africans in areas designated white under apartheid legislation. Now the older urban African leaders who tried nonetheless to keep lines of communication with the government open are being criticised by the youth of the urban townships for failing to maintain a more militant attitude over the years. Anti-white feeling is running strong, and even Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela who has spent many years in detention on Robben Island prison, and who has herself been the object of government banning orders, has been assailed for urging a non-racial society.

Much of the new impulsion to militancy in the townships is coming from young Africans with links with such black consciousness groups as the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). Though few doubt that the initiative has passed to youth, formal leadership structures remain indiscernible.

The government continues to maintain that the eruption was the work of agitators. To many reflective observers, black and white, such a contention is almost irrelevant. They want to know, if this was the case, why the townships proved such fertile ground for agitation and what the administration is doing to improve matters. The grim prospect seems to be that, if white academics and liberals who want to learn from Soweto are increasingly isolated from the rank and file whites who simply see firmer law and order measures as the answer, so are the more moderate Africans losing any influence they had among the simmering African youth of the urban townships. The militants reject any contact with even the liberal whites, maintaining that there has been more than ample time to change things had there been any genuine desire to do so. And government evocations of better African standards of living in South Africa than in other areas of Africa cut little ice with young men who know only South Africa —

and urban South Africa at that — and tend to compare their lot with that of their white neighbours.

As the rising force of African nationalism continues to leave even such men as Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi behind, the course seems irrevocably set for black-white confrontation of the most implacable kind — saving the unlikely event of a change of heart in the citadels of power and some resurgence of moderating influence on both sides of the colour fence.

JULY 26, 1976 TO THE POINT



Granma

26 de mayo de 1976

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
ON THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID AND IN SUPPORT OF
THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The International Seminar organised by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, with participants from Governments and inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, extends its greetings and solidarity to the people of South Africa who are continuing with renewed determination their brave struggle to overthrow the apartheid system, despite the growing ruthlessness of the white minority regime.

The Seminar recognises that the liberation movements in southern Africa are obliged to resort to armed struggle in view of the intransigence and ruthlessness of the white minority regimes. It reaffirms the right of the African liberation movements to decide on the means of their struggle, in the light of conditions in their territories, and to seek and receive international solidarity. The Seminar rejects the insistence by the racist regimes, and their friends and allies, that the liberation movements should struggle by peaceful means alone in the face of the growing violence and terrorism of the oppressors.

The Seminar invites all Governments, Organisations and peoples to join in concerted international action in support of the southern African liberation movements in this crucial and final stage of the struggle for the total emancipation of Africa.

Havana, Cuba, 24-38 May 1976

Vorster scared stiff



West Berlin, Thursday.
TALKS between United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African racist Premier John Vorster were a sign of panic of the Pretoria regime in the face of mounting Black struggle, a Black-South African militant said here last night.

"The white racist regime of Vorster and his imperialist backers are in disarray in the face of intensifying revolutionary armed struggle of the people of Azania," Ndugu Mfanasekhaya Gqobose, a member of the Central Committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) said.

Ndugu Gqobose who was addressing a rally organised by radical groups, said the political situation for the black people in southern Africa was excellent.

"The people of Zimbabwe will soon win their liberation, the situation in Namibia is excellent, and the Vorster regime is constantly besieged by the masses," he said.

The talks between Dr. Kissinger and fascist leader Vorster now under way in West Germany were aimed at devising new strategies for the further oppression of the black people in South Africa, including a possible military intervention by the United States, he said.

"The Vorster regime would never have lasted as long as it did without support by the Western powers. But we are not afraid of intervention by one superpower or a combination of superpowers," Ndugu Gqobose said.

"We are not counting our struggle in months or years, we are just continuing what our forefathers did centuries ago," he added.

"The people of Azania must and will be their own liberators," he declared.



Demonstrators picket South Africa mission on Sussex Drive Sunday.

(Journal-CP)

S. Africa riots 'only a start'

Riots in South Africa last week in which 100 persons were killed mark the beginning of the end for the nation's white regime, a representative of a militant South African liberation movement said Sunday.

South African blacks are prepared to wage armed conflict to overthrow the white regime. Mogale Mokgoatsane, a member of the United

Nations delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress, told about 100 demonstrators outside the South African embassy on Sussex Drive.

The marchers, mostly from Ottawa, gathered to show support for the cause of the African liberation movement, a spokesman said.

Two buses planned to bring more demonstrators from Montreal and Toronto never arrived, police said.

"The people of Azania (the African name for South Africa) are not ready to die but they are prepared to kill to

achieve their freedom," said Mr. Mokgoatsane.

The South African riots began last Wednesday in a black suburb of Johannesburg when students demonstrated against the enforced use of the Afrikaans language.

Carrying placards and red flags, the marchers here toured streets in the downtown area and marched past the United States embassy on Wellington Street shouting slogans before moving along Sussex Drive to the South African mission.

About 10 Ottawa police officers and RCMP were posted around the mission and inside the fence. RCMP also guarded the entrances to the nearby residences of the prime minister and the governor general.

Though the demonstration remained peaceful, police warned the picketers several times to keep moving or face arrest.

The demonstration was organized by the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist).

Published by the

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA
Observer Mission to the
United Nations
Provisional address:
875 West End Avenue #14E
New York NY10025